

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
-----044424 181702Z /50
P 181551Z JAN 78
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4872
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 00729

EXDIS

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR EARLE'S STATEMENT OF JANUARY 18, 1978
(SALT TWO-1572)

1. THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR
EARLE AT SALT TWO MEETING OF JANUARY 18, 1978:

MR. MINISTER:

- I

TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO RETURN TO THE QUESTION OF
AGGREGATE NUMBERS IN THE TREATY. THE SIDES HAVE ALREADY
AGREED ON AN AGGREGATE OR 1,320 LAUNCHERS OF MIRVED ICBMS
AND SLBMS AND HEAVY BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES
CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS. STILL
UNRESOLVED IS WHETHER THIS LIMITATION SHALL INCLUDE MIRVED
ASBMS. THE SIDES HAVE ALSO AGREED TO LIMIT THE NUMBER OF
LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS TO 820. WE

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CONTINUE TO FACE, HOWEVER, THE RELATED PROBLEMS OF
REDUCTIONS IN THE OVERALL AGGREGATE, THE TIMING OF THESE
REDUCTIONS AND THE SUBLIMIT ON MIRVED SYSTEMS. THE MANNER
IN WHICH WE DECIDE THESE ISSUES WILL DIRECTLY AFFECT
FOLLOW-ON NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

IT IS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THAT I WOULD LIKE TO EXPLAIN FURTHER THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE UNRESOLVED QUESTIONS OF NUMERICAL LIMITATIONS AND THE TIMING OF THEIR APPLICATION.

- II

THE QUESTION OF THE OVERALL AGGREGATE TO WHICH THE SIDES WILL INITIALLY REDUCE AFTER THE TREATY HAS ENTERED INTO FORCE IS IMPORTANT FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS, NOT THE LEAST OF WHICH IS THAT THE FIGURE WE CHOOSE WILL BECOME ONE OF THE STANDARDS BY WHICH WORLD OPINION WILL JUDGE OUR EFFORTS. IF WE SETTLE FOR A HIGHER AGGREGATE LEVEL THAN THE UNITED STATES PROPOSAL FOR 2,160, IT WILL BE FAR EASIER FOR CRITICS OF OUR EFFORTS TO ARGUE THAT WE HAVE NOT, IN FACT, MADE SERIOUS PROGRESS TOWARDS CONTROLLING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, WE AGREE ON THE 2,160 FIGURE, WHICH REPRESENTS A REDUCTION OF TEN PERCENT, WE WILL HAVE MADE AN IMPORTANT DEMONSTRATION OF OUR JOINT WILL TO REDUCE THE PERMITTED LEVELS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

- III

THE TIMING OF REDUCTIONS IN THE OVERALL AGGREGATE IS AN IMPORTANT UNRESOLVED ISSUE. BOTH SIDES HAVE AGREED TO LIMIT INITIALLY THE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS
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TO 2,400. IT HAS ALSO BEEN AGREED, ASSUMING AN AGREED DATA BASE, TO COMPLETE ANY REQUIRED DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION WITHIN SIX MONTHS OF ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE TREATY. AS WE MOVE TOWARD FURTHER MUTUAL REDUCTIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE III, THE UNITED STATES IS CONVINCED THAT THE CONFIDENCE OF BOTH SIDES WILL BEST BE SERVED BY REDUCTIONS CARRIED OUT NO LESS RAPIDLY THAN IS ENVISAGED IN THE UNITED STATES PROPOSAL FOR PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE XI. UNDER THIS PROPOSAL, REDUCTIONS TO THE NEW LIMIT WOULD BE INITIATED BY JANUARY 1, 1980, AND WOULD BE COMPLETED WITHIN SIX MONTHS THEREAFTER, A TIME PERIOD SIMILAR TO THE ONE WHICH THE SIDES HAVE ALREADY CONDITIONALLY AGREED UNDER PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE XI. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THIS ALLOWS A SUFFICIENTLY LONG PERIOD TO PERMIT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE REQUIRED DISMANTLING AND DESTRUCTION, PARTICULARLY SINCE THERE WILL BE AMPLE TIME IN ADVANCE TO PLAN FOR THESE REDUCTIONS.

THE UNITED STATES FURTHER BELIEVES THAT SUCH STEPS WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF BOTH SIDES AND WOULD PRESERVE THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY. THESE

STEPS WOULD ALSO SERVE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE SIDES WISH TO MAKE EXPEDITIOUS AND EFFECTIVE REDUCTIONS, CONSISTENT WITH STRATEGIC STABILITY, IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND WOULD THUS PROVIDE A BASIS FOR FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THE SIDES HAVE ALREADY COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO THE PRINCIPLE OF FURTHER REDUCTIONS. MOREOVER, THE SIDES HAVE AGREED TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON THESE REDUCTIONS PROMPTLY AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE TREATY WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF ACHIEVING THESE REDUCTIONS AS SOON AS

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00

INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W

-----044438 181708Z /50

P 181551Z JAN 78

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4873

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION USNATO

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POSSIBLE. WE SHOULD BEGIN THAT PROCESS KNOWING THAT THE REDUCED FORCE LEVELS WHICH ARE THE OBJECT OF OUR CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE ACHIEVED IN A TIMELY FASHION.

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IV

THE SUBLIMIT ON MIRVED SYSTEMS IS A VITAL PART OF THE TREATY AND THEREFORE WILL RECEIVE PARTICULAR ATTENTION AS AN INDICATOR OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE SIDES HAVE MADE SERIOUS PROGRESS TOWARD CONTROLLING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS STATED THAT MIRVED MISSILES ARE THE MOST DESTABILIZING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. NEITHER SIDE HAS YET ATTAINED THE 1,200 LEVEL WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS PROPOSED AS A SUBLIMIT ON MIRVED SYSTEMS. THUS THE SIDES NOW HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXERCISE MUTUAL RESTRAINT BY LIMITING THIS ELEMENT OF THEIR STRATEGIC FORCES. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT

AGREEMENT ON A SUBLIMIT OF 1,200 MIRVED SYSTEMS WOULD BE
AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD MEANINGFULLY LIMITING MIRVED
SYSTEMS NOW AND TOWARD SETTING THE STAGE FOR FURTHER
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REDUCTIONS OF THOSE SYSTEMS.

- V

MR. MINISTER, I LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR RESPONSE TO
THE CONSIDERATIONS I HAVE SET FORTH TODAY. EARLE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SALT (ARMS CONTROL), ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978GENEVA00729
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780027-0192
Format: TEL
From: GENEVA USSALTTWO
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780151/aaaabqsp.tel
Line Count: 185
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ebb6cfe2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3757178
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR EARLE'S STATEMENT OF JANUARY 18, 1978 (SALT TWO-1572)
TAGS: PARM, US, UR, (EARLE, RALPH II)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ebb6cfe2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014